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LIVES, POSITION OF KARMAL, RATEBZAD DISCUSSED

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 18 Jan 80 p 3

[Article by Olaf Ihlau: "Revolutionary Prescription by the Doctor"]

[Text] Kabul, In January. He is indebted to German culture for a "educational-cultural experience," Afghanistan's new revolutionary master once confessed. The son of a royal general and military governor, he completed his high school education in 1949 in Kabul's Amani School, which is partially staffed by German teachers. This secondary school [Oberrealschule], founded in the midtwenties, always maintained a good reputation as far as its standards are concerned. The French language Istiqlal School was, however, better spoken of at the court and was preferred by the upper classes. The fact that an Amani student killed King Nadir Shah in a blood feud in 1933 may have been psychologically involved in this judgement. That monarch had been attacked in handbills as a "jackal of the British," for the distribution of which the social revolutionary Ahmad Rateb was imprisoned. Rateb was the father of the physician, Dr Anahita Ratebzad, closest political companion of Babrak Karmal, who has in the meantime become the most powerful woman in the current leftist regime.

Surprisingly little biographical information has so far become available concerning these two leaders of the former "Pattcham" Group. They had been expelled soon after the revolutionary victory of Nafizullah Amin and have now liquidated their intraparty enemy with Moscow's military assistance. On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Democratic People's Party (PDPA) early in January, Anahita vociferously accused Amin of having been a bloodthirsty beast, a deceitful devil, a crazy and criminal murderer who sent thousands of his enemies to the torture chambers, prisons and slaughter houses. After that the convinced Marxist from this Muslim country called upon her comrades to "pray for the souls of the martyrs" during a minute of silence.

Into the Lower House in Disguise

Anahita and Babrak are the same age (born 1929). Both grew up in the same village (Kamari near Kabul), and both belong to the same ethnic minority,

the Tadzhiks who are, next to the dominant Pachtunes Afghanistan's most important ethnic group. Anahita was trained as a nurse in Chicago in the early fifties, after which she studied medicine in Kabul and became Afghanistan's first female doctor. She then married a colleague, who later left her when his attractive wife discovered her inclination toward politics and toward Babrak Karmal personally. In the mid-seventies, during Afghanistan's short-lived democratic experiment, Anahita and Babrak won seats in the first tolerably free elections to Kabul's lower house, the Ulusi Jirga.--Of course not as official candidates of the "Democratic People's Party" but in disguise.

Babrak Karmal's life was more varied until he entered parliament. This son of a general had already shown interest in socialist ideas during his study of law. He was consequently arrested by the royal secret police and was imprisoned for almost 2 years. In prison he met, among other revolutionaries, Mir Akbar Chaibar, a military academy graduate who later, together with the political poet Taraki, founded the "Democratic People's Party" and served as the "Partcham" Group's liaison with the armed forces. Chaibar and Taraki, today among the new regime's "chief martyrs," was murdered following a visit to the air base Bagram, immediately prior to the successful coup against the despotic Daoud in April of 1978. Initially it had been announced that Daoud's police thugs had done it. Anahita, however, now claims that Amin was behind this plot.

Following his release from prison, Karmal worked from time to time as a translator for an American firm (he speaks a passable English and understands German). Next he was briefly employed as a teacher of the humanities at the Amani School and finally he became a director in the Ministry of Planning. He gave up this government post when, early in 1965, he joined Taraki's "People's Party," which fought against feudalism, for an end to the "tyranny of the closed governing circles" and the creation of a "national and democratic government." In 1969, differences in opinion over the question of participation in elections between Taraki's "Khalq" (People's Party) wing and the Barak Circle centering around the weekly PARTCHAM (The Banner), resulted in a split. While Taraki's supporters worked under cover and behind the scenes, "Partcham" supported the return of Muhammed Daoud as head of the government, together with the proclamation of a republic and the expulsion of King Zahir Shah (1973). In the meantime and following a number of skilled parliamentary scenes in which he advocated a close friendship with the Soviet Union and demanded the "return of Pachtunistan and Baluchistan, Barak Karmal had become a kind of national revolutionary hero. He organized student demonstrations and was beaten up by royalist deputies because of his biting attacks.

But when Daoud systematically divested himself of his leftist helpers and pushed through a reactionary constitution, the two leftist parties again merged. In a bloody coup on 27 April 1978, Daoud and 30 of his family members were massacred in the Ark Palace (today--House of the People).

Taraki became president of the Revolutionary Council, Barak Karmal became his deputy and chief ideolog and Anahita was given the Ministry of Social Affairs. She was Babrak's "revolutionary bride," it was said at the time. But her classification as a mere mistress did not correspond to her true influence and ignored her intellectual and ideological independence. There have also been attempts to portray Anahita as a radical witch; an Afghan blend of Hilde Benjamin and Qiang Qing. The initial statements by the social affairs minister, however, did not sound dogmatic, but rather cautious and prudent. Anahita speculated that the highly developed thought processes of Marxism-Leninism had absolutely no chance to develop roots in Afghanistan's parched and underdeveloped soil. "First the people must learn to read and write, have jobs and learn to articulate their needs economically and politically. That will require at least another 30 years. Only then should Afghanistan choose between communism, socialism or another path.

Whoever has the opportunity to meet this charming and elegant woman in her domain, the Ministry of Education, will probably hear her explain in fluent English that she is still convinced of the correctness of this thesis. She claims to have spent the past 18 months in Yugoslavia, having been sent to Belgrade as ambassador when Amin initiated the removal of his "Partcham" rivals (Babak Karmel went to Prague). "We were then supposed to come back but decided that was not the thing to do," recalls the physician turned politician. Many of her "Partcham" friends in Kabul disappeared in the prisons--were liquidated. Babrak Karmal and Anahita probably spent the past months, while the Kremlin organized the change of leadership in Kabul, in the Soviet Union. The fact that the Russians aided them in their assumption of power is in in way an acceptable future encumbrance in the eyes of the new minister of education, who is also a member of the Polit-buro and of the Revolutionary Council. "Just wait," Anahita says in a friendly but energetic manner, "we will turn Afghanistan into a flourishing country."

9410

CSO: 4403

## AFGHANISTAN

### PROFESSOR SOYSAL CRITICIZES KARMAL'S POLICY

NC251010 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 22 Feb 80 p 2 NC

[Article by Professor Soysal: "States and Tiny Human Beings"]

[Excerpts] Afghanistan's tragedy today stems from the fact that it has become a tangled knot when the influence of three big powers were in conflict. The Soviet Union did not refrain from trampling on the fundamental principles of socialism in order to secure the safety of its southern part in central Asia. The Western world pushed forward hundreds of thousands of poor people and shared the responsibility for bloody massacres for the sake of their oil strategy. Beijing, meanwhile assuming the airs of a big power, thought it opportune to take advantage of Afghanistan's drama.

Foreign Minister Mohammad Dost says: "You are mistaken if you think that the \$400 million to be given to Pakistan will be spent on strengthening the Pakistani army. The greater portion of that money will be spent on arming the bandits at the Khyber Pass."

Are they "bandits" or "patriots?" Probably both. These internationally known passes have for centuries been scenes of patriotism as well as banditry. The policies of big powers have done nothing but add a little more blood and a little more death to the already rough atmosphere prevailing in this country.

Will Babrak Karmal's new attitude serve to disperse this atmosphere? Karmal says: "We have established a national unity front, and we have opened our arms to everybody including the Settem-I Milli Party, which is sympathetic to China, and the Afghan Millet Party which pursues a moderate policy. Whoever wishes to join us amid progressive and democratic forces, he may. Those who choose to resort to fighting should know that we can fight too." Had this "extensive front" policy, which he is trying to implement, really been his own idea, we might be carried away by optimism and feel joy at the thought that these little human beings who are being oppressed by the policies of big powers, stand a better chance in the future. But unfortunately, like the tanks placed at various points to protect his regime, this policy is not his either.



## AFGHANISTAN

### PROFESSOR SOYSAL EVALUATES AMIN'S ROLE

NC251005 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 20 Feb 80 p 2 NC

[Article by Professor Soysal: "From Massacre to Massacre"]

[Excerpts] Whether they like the present regime or not, what angers the Afghans most is the West's description of the ousted Amin as "the legitimate ruler of Afghanistan." How can Amin, who had Taraki strangled in a blood-thirsty manner, be considered the legitimate ruler? How can he be deemed the legitimate ruler when he is known to have had thousands of people killed and several families totally exterminated. Again, how can Amin be looked upon as the legitimate ruler when he had tens of thousands of people arrested and tortured? These questions are repeated frequently by the Afghans. The balance sheet of recent months is horrifying. But how fair is it to blame everything on Amin? When the situation got out of hand many joined in. Some of these crazy people are still believed at large.

To what extent was the Soviet Union involved in the events prior to 27 December 1979? Undoubtedly, Soviet influence in recent years, particularly since the "revolution" of 27 April 1978, has greatly increased. But there is another indisputable fact which is that Amin had gone beyond the limit of the target. He tortured thousands of people through his inordinate passion for power. In doing so, he created repercussions with which he could not cope in the long run. To put it briefly, he began to be harmful to the Soviet Union. It is through him that Afghanistan "has been lost."

This is the gist of the events. That is why the Soviet Union made the attack. is wrong to say that the aim of the "Soviet Union is to invade Pakistan arer Afghanistan and then move down to the Persian Gulf." Afghanistan was occupied, not because it was intended as a springboard but because it might have been lost.

The present occupation has two aims: to prevent the loss of Afghanistan by controlling all the strategic points and to man a unified and conciliatory government which would exercise less pressure and which would cause fewer repercussions.

## AFGHANISTAN

### TURKISH MEMBER OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL ON AFGHANISTAN

NC251000 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 19 Feb 80 p 7 NC

[Special report by Professor Mumtaz Soysal]

[Excerpts] Ankara--MILLIYET writer Professor Mumtaz Soysal has returned from Afghanistan after a week's visit as representative of Amnesty International. During the visit he had talks with Babrak Karmal as well as with leading members of the regime. He also visited the notorious Puli-Charki prison where he talked with responsible officials of the Amin period. Professor Soysal also gave a lecture at the Kabul University which was televised in color.

Prime Minister Babrak Karmal, who is also chairman of the Revolutionary Council and leader of the Democratic People's Party of Afghanistan, received Mumtaz Soysal in his office at the People's Palace. During the conversation Karmal said to Soysal: "I am telling you certain things as my Muslim brother." He praised the efforts of Amnesty International saying: "When there was so much tyranny in Afghanistan during Amin's period, no one in the whole world raised a finger. Only Amnesty International showed concern. Amin was a sadist and a CIA agent. There will be no arbitrary arrests in Afghanistan from now on. No one will be tortured. There will be freedom of opinion. When the appropriate time comes, capital punishment will be abolished also. We released 15,000 detainees as soon as we came to power."

Karmal also stated that "they had formed a national democratic front and that they had invited other parties to join them."

Following this meeting, Professor Mumtaz Soysal lectured at the Kabul University--with Babrak Karmal's permission--about the activities of Amnesty International. Present at the lecture were judges of the Afghanistan high courts and leading lawyers. This lecture was televised in color. Photographs of Professor Soysal's meeting with Karmal and his lecture were carried in the Afghan press.

Professor Soysal had talks with Foreign Minister Dost and Interior Minister Gulabzoy, who both assured him that "the government would do whatever necessary for the observance of human rights. The ministers criticized the U.S. propaganda on human rights."

Professor Soysal then visited the Puli-charki prison which is about 70 kilometers from Kabul. This place was first constructed as a military headquarters but was later converted into a prison. According to official figures, there were fewer than 100 detainees in this prison. Professor Soysal also met with the bodyguard commander who strangled Taraki. This commander, who is now in detention, said: "Amin gave the order on behalf of the party and I carried it out."

Professor Soysal also had the opportunity to talk in the same prison with ministers of the Amin period and to obtain information regarding conditions in the prison. One of these former ministers was an Uzbek who addressed Professor Soysal in Turkish. This [former] minister stated that they were not tortured at this prison.

Members of the former king's regime, members of the Davud Khan regime as well as those arrested during the Taraki period have been released by the Karmal administration. Talking with these people, Professor Soysal obtained information regarding conditions that prevailed during the Amin period. These people said: "We were subjected to extremely vicious treatment during the Amin period. Many people were shot by firing squads without trial."

According to Professor Soysal and contrary to what is believed outside Afghanistan, the new regime is trying to implement a policy which aims at unifying the nation and introducing freedom. The Soviet troops occupy strategic positions but refrain from being seen in the streets. However, the airport and some quarters of Kabul are surrounded by tanks, armored vehicles and carriers of the Soviet units. The people of Afghanistan are not happy about the occupation and the presence of the Russians in their country. They say: "The most valuable human right is independence. In the absence of this, no other human right is worth enjoying."

According to Professor Soysal, the new Afghan regime is trying to benefit from all the intellectuals of the country. It has been learned in the meantime that the new Afghan chief of general staff is a graduate of the Ankara War Academy. Moreover, four of the Afghan army generals were trained in Turkey.

CSO: 4907

U.S. DECISION TO ARM MOROCCO 'SETS MIGHT ABOVE RIGHT'

LD121551 Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 31 Jan 80 p 1 LD

[Article by B. Amazit: "Setting Might Above Right"]

[Text] The recently published announcement of Washington's plans to supply demands to the Rabat Monarchy could have surprised only the few credulous people who once believed that the United States could go back on its policy of encouraging reactionary regimes and move away from kindling hotbeds of tension. Despite the reports made to it and the reactions of the international community, the U.S. executive has decided to arm Morocco "so that it can defend itself against outside aggression." Such a decision sets might above right.

The Rabat-Washington alliance has never been a secret. The United States has always been Hassan II's main weapons supplier, but the situation in which this latest delivery is taking place prompts us to reflect. And this reflection transcends the framework of the traditional alliance which links Morocco to the United States.

The West Saharan conflict, which transcends the geographical limits of the Northwest Maghreb, since it must be viewed within the perspective of the anti-imperialist and anticolonialist struggle, has considerably damaged U.S. interests in the region and the strategy which imperialism and its allies developed to control this entire area, following the West's defeats on the African continent (Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and so forth....)

On account of its strategic position on the Atlantic, the Western Sahara has always been of interest to the West. Its annexation by Morocco would suit more than one country, since it would be moving into the allied camp of imperialism. However, this camp has not taken into account the Saharan people's resistance.

The resumption of East-West tension is not unconnected with Mr Carter's decision to supply the Hassanii monarchy with the weaponry essential for continuing the war which Rabat is waging in the Western Sahara. Of course, as far as the White House is concerned, "Morocco is the attacked country."



But who will pay for the OV-10s, the Cobras and F-5s which are to be supplied? It is well known that Morocco cannot meet such costs on account of its failing economy. Only a country or countries allied to or having special relations with the United States could gain credit. In the present instance, since the Arab and Islamic world is waging an all-out battle against imperialism, any ally of the Rabat monarchy can only be an ally of the United States.

The recent Islamic conference in Islamabad denounced imperialism's activity in the Middle East, particularly with regard to the attempt to win over Arab countries to as-Sadat's policy of capitulation. An action against an Arab and Muslim people must be condemned, the Saharan people quite rightly consider themselves an Arab and Muslim people attacked by the Hassan-II regime assisted by an imperialist country. Therefore, it is up to the Arab and Muslim peoples to open their eyes to a reality and to be consistent to themselves and their policy by shouldering their responsibilities with regard to the Western Sahara.

CSO: 4400

**ALGERIA**

**JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON FLN-PSOE TALKS IN MADRID**

LD181344 Algiers APS in English 1220 GMT 18 Feb 80 LD

[Text] Madrid, 18/02/80 (APS)--Following the visit paid to Madrid by a Labour Party (PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party]), talks between the parties were sanctioned by a joint communique.

The major topics discussed were security in the Mediterranean.

The two sides reaffirmed their attachment to security in Mediterranean, to national independence and territorial integrity of the Mediterranean countries.

As for the Western Sahara issue, it should be solved in conformity with U.N. Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the non-aligned movement's resolutions.

In this respect, the two parties strongly reaffirmed their solidarity and support to the heroic struggle. Led by the Saharan people, under the leadership of the Polisario Front, its unique and authentic representative, for its right to self-determination and independence.

The two parties expressed similar support to the Palestinian people and stressed the necessity of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)'s participation in any search of solution to the Middle-East problem.

The two parties expressed their support to the establishment of a new international economic order, which efficiently takes in charge the reconsideration of the unjust historic unbalanced development between the developed and the developing countries.

The F.L.N. delegation was led by Slimane Hoffman, CC member in charge of international relations. It was received by P.S.O.E.'s secretary general, Felipe Gonzalez and other senior (?officials).

CSO: 4420

## BAHRAIN

### BRIEFS

**BANK OPENING--**On 15 December 1979, Shaykh 'Isa Bin-Salman Al Khalifah opened the Islamic Bank of Bahrain. [Excerpt] [Manama AL-ADWA' in Arabic 15 Dec 79 p 3]

**TOURISM OFFICE--**Recently, the director of the international division of the Netherlands National Tourist Office has been visiting the Gulf states in preparation for opening a public relations office for that organization in Bahrain in the near future. [Excerpt] [Manama AL-ADWA' in Arabic 15 Dec 79 p 3]

CSO: 4802

# NATIONAL FRONT ATTACKS TUDEH PARTY

Tehran JEBHE-YE AZADI in Persian 3 Jan 80 p 2

[Article: Tudeh Party in Service of Reaction and Imperialism"]

[Excerpts] In our previous article we asked the writers of the respected newspaper MARDOM to refrain from any further false accusation and slander, which is a dastardly way to act, and to take up the more fundamental concerns that have ensnared the deprived people of Iran. The writers of MARDOM did not listen, however, and by widely publishing false information they compelled us to pursue the matter. Now, before we continue, again we ask the noble, sincere, and informed people to read issue 118 of MARDOM and compare it with issue 28 of JEBHE-YE AZADI.

We must say at the outset that the family now leading the Tudeh party does not have a bright past and they are up to their ears in infamy. Mr Kiyanuri, grandson of Shaykh Fazlollah Nuri and son-in-law of the great feudal lord Farmanfarma is a person who, according to his own admission, formerly owned one eighth of Iran. His wife's brother, Mr 'Abdol 'Aziz Farmanfarma (the famous broker) is one of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's very close advisors. With regard to the personality of Mr Kiyanuri, Dr Keshavarz writes, "On the suggestion of Mr Kiyanuri and with the sanction of the Executive Committee in Tehran, they killed Hossam Lankarani on the pretense that he knew party secrets." On page 58 of his book he adds, "In the 4th Plenum I described certain events such as the killing of Mohammad Mas'ud and Ahmad Dehqan, and Fontan said: 'Comrades, speaking of these matters in the plenum is a treason.' I retorted 'Isn't carrying out of these killings on your comrade Kiyanuri's instruction a treason?'"

Again Dr Keshavarz writes of the qualities of the leadership of the Tudeh party on page 7 of his book: "Comrade Khosrow Ruzbeh, in his famous letter, accuses the leaders of the Tudeh Party of timidity, abandoning the front lines of battle, and entertaining themselves abroad. The leaders of the Tudeh Party, during conditions when the struggle by the people of Iran had taken a new form and when young people put their lives on the line in the arena of battle and sacrificed themselves in order to raise the banner of freedom and equality, fled in confusion and abandoned the battlefield (why?)."



Iraj Eskandari, Kambakhsh, and later Reza Rusta and Avanesian were among the first group that fled in 1947; and gradually the remainder of the members of the Central Committee followed suit in fleeing abroad and demonstrated to what extent they were prepared to fight! The Tudeh Party, in its forth plenum, shamefully admits that "the leadership, due to physical danger, was forced to leave the country." The TUDEH magazine, concerning this subject, wrote in 1971: "If the leadership of the Tudeh Party believed in the masses and had their support, obviously it would not do such a shameful thing... because with this ideology of fleeing the battlefield, the leadership of the Tudeh Party was not actually in a position to train members of the party to serve the people...in this way the foreheads of the opportunists and cowards in the Tudeh Party were permanently tainted with shame. The standard-bearer on this path was Khosrow Ruzbeh who at the time of his death hated the leadership of the Tudeh Party."

You see how firmly ensconced the Tudeh Party leaders are in the heart of the oligarchy and that they are part of the privileged class, while in the Iran Party it is just the opposite and our leaders are firmly committed to the struggle. The leaders of the Iran Party are among the most worthy sons of this land and they did not receive their trainings in the cradle of feudalism and the schools of foreigner-worshippers. All the current writers of the Iran Party are free and hard-working people who have even lost their brothers and children in battle; but at no time did hardship or material deprivation divert them from the correct path. Another one of our colleagues, Mr Rahim Sharifi, fled from city to city for more than thirty years in order to continue his hit and run struggle. His property was plundered in Bojnord and the SAVAK was always after him. The 90-sq meter house built by Mr Moqaddam in 1950 with the help of his old mother, who made the bricks with her emaciated and bony hands, still stands as a true witness on Hassamelsaltaneh Street. Mr Khalilollah Moqadam lived in virtual exile in the Larestan desert for two years, and in 1971 he was imprisoned for the crime of having published a pamphlet on the crimes of 2500 years under the penname of Jaraqeh (which were published in ETTELA'AT and carried over the radio during the revolution). His imprisonment and torture in 1974 are remembered by all the honorable people of the Tudeh Party (not those who were reporting daily to Col Zamani). Thus, what kind of an aware and honorable person would call us bourgeois and liberals in such conditions as we are in; and would consider Mr Kiyanuri, who was trained by Shaykh Fazlollah Nuri, or Princess Maryam, who was trained by Farmanfarma, as the people's avant-garde?

We pledge by this writing that we are ready to exchange all properties of the Central Committee of the Iran Party for just the wealth of the couple presently leading the Tudeh Party. Of course if that huge workers' building located on the street west of the university should be transacted, we would be happier; because for once in our life we want to have a chance to taste Feudalism or the Comprador bourgeoisie and to live where those who are better than us and the survivors of Farmanfarma spend their days and nights.

MARDOM writes in issue No 118 "The Iran Party, like other groups that defend the interests of the liberal bourgeoisie in Iran, considers freedom as its

first and last defense line. The difference between this party and other leftist organizations who beat their chests beneath the banner of freedom is that this party candidly and frankly wants freedom. The Iran Party believes that the people of Iran revolted only to achieve freedom and for no other reason; and that freedom is endangered now; that Fascism is knocking at the door; and that in order to confront it we must do battle with those in power; and it goes on to ask, why did we keep silent with regard to the takeover of the American nest of espionage?"

Those who have clear understanding know that the National Front was, with great pride, one of the firm pillars of the national government of Dr Mossadeq. Now, after years of slandering and abusing him, the Tudeh Party, with the utmost humiliation, calls him an anti-foreign personality. The Tudeh Party, for about two full years, spoke against him using all kinds of ugly and offensive language. For example, it said "The government of the demagoguery and treason of Mossadeq" (BESU-YE AYANDEH May 4 1952); and it was only the day after the events of Feb 28 1953, after the revealing of the fierce behind-the-scenes fighting of Mossadeq with the royal court that they called him "Mr Mossadeq]."

Since the coup d'etat of 19 August until now, unlike the Tudeh Party, the Iran Party has never been silent; but the Tudeh Party, since executing its officers (who were truly some of the worthiest people in Iran) until last year when its escaped leaders came back had maintained complete silence.

We have expressed ourselves officially concerning all events among them the activities at the American Embassy, but since, unlike you, we have not received any money or paper from various sources our publication and propaganda has not been widely distributed; rather we still pursue the just fight with awareness as much as we can. Why don't you, however, who take issue with us on this, ask your Russian bosses why they don't regard the occupation of the American Embassy on the part of Iran as the right thing to do?

You were right in saying that we want to fight those in power in order to obtain freedom. We have held this belief for a long time and it so happens that you are lying when you said you were fighting for freedom. Notice, that the newspaper RAHBAR of 1 Aug 1945 writes "Our party, according to the basic views of the Tudeh party of Iran believes that while political and administrative offices are not purged of dictatorial and anti-democratic elements it will be impossible for the Iranian nation to attain a state of true democracy." Now are we at fault for not abandoning or forsaking our beliefs or is it you, who engage in double-crossing? Is it us or you who have turned back from the path of freedom and humanity?

You err in believing we only think of freedom. We also believe in the methods of democracy and socialism and in the fight against imperialism and we take profound steps along this path, while you pay no attention to any of these three doctrines. We will bring conclusive arguments in your own words which are the best reasons from the legal standpoint.

A-Democracy: The Tudeh Party, since the first days of its formation because of giving a position in its heart to the most infamous of Feudalists, has aligned itself with the most anti-democratic governments and had had relations with them and only opposed the democratic government of Dr Mossadeq. (We discussed its reasons in the previous issue). Please take note.

1- The Tudeh Party was in support of the government of Mr Bayat. "In 1945 a parliamentary group with the approval and consent of the central committee supported the Bayat cabinet." The newspaper MARDOM wrote on 25 Dec 1945 that "Everyone knows that our party has been favorably disposed towards the Hakimi cabinet..." (Hakimi was one of the wellknown land stealers). The Tudeh Party became friendly with the Razmara government and affirmed his government because of an implicit agreement between Razmara and the Russian Government. Mr Mehdi Farrokh used to say that Razmara wanted, with the help of the Tudeh party, to eliminate the National Front (under the leadership of Dr Mossadeq).

2- KRASNAYA ARMIYA, an organ of the Red Army, spoke highly of Razmara on the occasion of his death and wrote that Razmara was willing to give an oil production concession from northern oil to the Soviets." 20 Mar 1951

3- The Tudeh Party participated in the cabinet of Qavamolsaltaneh. Qavam, killer of Colonel Muhammad Taqi Khan Pesiyani, was one of the most hated and lowly faces of history and politics and one of the biggest feudalists of Iran, part of the reactionary elements in the fullest sense and one of the oldest hands and devoted representatives of imperialism. Kambakhsh wrote in the magazine DONYA no 1 that "Qavamolsaltaneh is a representative of American imperialism who several years ago stomped out democratic freedoms." The parliamentary spokesman of the Tudeh Party, however, said that "Our support of Qavamolsaltaneh's government arises out of the Tudeh Party's desire to preserve democracy and the constitution."

Eleven years later Hassan Ersanja'i wrote in his memoirs "It was clear that the Tudeh Party did not want to cooperate with the National Front and they had sent several people to meet with 'Abbas Eskandari in order to provide provisional assistance to the Qavam government."

You see that a party whose uninformed writer accuses us, has indeed been friendly with every infamous and reactionary government, and only recently fought with the government of Dr Mossadeq and also said nothing after the coup d'etat of [19 Aug] when Soviet Russia had given the gold deposits of the people of Iran to the Zahedi government handpicked by American imperialism, and the killer of Tudeh officers; and for 25 years of the government of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi watched and did not speak up because the Tudeh leadership, on account of its class thinking, did not have a clear view of the issues arising out of the battles of the people of Iran, and then as now was disturbed in its thinking.

When the newspaper MARDOM's writer says democracy and freedom are their goals it should be said to them that we clearly believe in what the Tudeh party has said some of what must be said in the conditions of unarmed struggle to awaken

the populations in capitalist-influenced countries, but they have not put these things into practice. Didn't the Tudeh Party publish a resolution in its tenth plenum that "The political foundation of democratic governments consists of a coalition of all patriotic and progressive forces who are fighting for political independence of a democracy until the success of the democratic anti-feudalist and anti-imperialist revolution."? Didn't they write in a 1966 monthly publication of MARDOM that "our party holds that now all national and democratic forces can rally around the banner of establishing a national democratic government. And didn't they say in the magazine DONYA of 1969 that "It is clear that our goal in this age of the fight is only to put an end to absolutism and establishing these freedoms that have been recognized by virtue of the Iranian Constitution and world-wide declaration of human rights."? Didn't the newspaper MARDOM of 10 Jan 1947 write that "It is reflected in our constitution that the Tudeh Party of Iran will fight to secure freedom and all individual and social rights resulting from this freedom..."

You can see that what you say and what you do are not the same but the National Front has praised the Iranian people in all circumstances of national, democratic, and anti-imperialist struggle and has itself been striding along this path. Our friends have never abandoned the honorable, anti-foreigner battle, and have never, unlike you, been two-faced and elitist. In your fourth plenum you admitted that "False accusations, fabrication of files, unwarranted suspicions, overlooking (ignoring) organizational principles, self-serving attitudes, stubbornness, rudeness, and revengefulness all exist in the Tudeh party," and they admitted that "If democracy prevailed in the Tudeh Party these differences would have been nipped in the bud." It is amazing that what you are hoping for we are carrying out as a matter of practice and it is that genuineness, sense of prophetic mission, and having a democratic spirit on the basis of a socialist conscience which you have been compelled to accept. For this reason, "The newspaper JEBHE, now replacing SHAFARQ as the official organ of the National Front has entered its second year of carrying on its struggle. The newspaper JEBHE, and before it the newspaper SHAFARQ, which publishes the thoughts of a number of fervent, freedom-loving young men, though in some insignificant and trifling instances has had its internal differences in taste and style, has been of one mind on all issues of life relating to the freedom of the Iranian nation from the influence of reaction and despotism. We hope the National Front and the newspaper JEBHE will be successful in this vital struggle."

9310

CSO: 4906



## KING HASSAN SENDS MESSAGE TO TOLBERT ABOUT MONROVIA SUMMIT, SAHARA

LD121424 Rabat MAP in English 1300 GMT 12 Feb 80 LD

[Text] Rabat, Feb 12 (MAP)--King Hassan recently addressed to William Tolbert of Liberia and acting president of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) a message related to the Moroccan stand toward the recommendations of the Monrovia summit on the Sahara. Concerning President Tolbert's initiative King Hassan II said that the exchange of viewpoints he had with Mr Cecil Dennis, Liberian foreign minister, was most rewarding. "We acknowledged what was the atmosphere of the latest meeting of the wise men committee and at the same time seize the opportunity to expose faithfully our viewpoint our most preoccupying problem," said the sovereign, adding that before all we would like to stress our peace will and our determination to do everything to achieve this goal." [quotation mark as received]

The Moroccan sovereign stated further that "our attachment to the OAU, of which Morocco was a founding member, remains tangible. Be assured, and with you all Africans, that Morocco will never attempt to impair it or diminish its credibility. Far from that, we will do our best, as we did in the past, to heighten its prestige and strengthen its efficiency in order to enable it to achieve its noble objectives entrusted within its charter," King Hassan II pointed out.

"In this respect, we consider it superfluous to remind your excellency that the OAU's decisions, whatever their nature, cannot be imposed and gain the support of all if they are not made within the framework of legality in its strictest aspect and if they do not derogate from and substance conditions." [as received]

"Morocco, which highly cares for the peace and stability of Africa, and which always contributes to this peace and stability through the most appropriate means and the most authentically African--OAU--was among the first countries that called for the setting up of an ad hoc committee entrusted with the settlement of what is agreed on today to call 'the Western Sahara problem'."

"A Mauritius, July 1976, as in Khartoum, July 1978, Morocco was among the first countries that endorsed the resolutions related to the problem.

The two resolutions adopted at the time constitute the substance and the sole legal framework within which should be 'examined the elements of the Western Sahara question.' No other way, if not illegal and illegitimate, is possible except the one clearly defined by the two resolutions."

"First, the OAU heads of states and government conference held in Port Louis, Mauritius, July 1976 in its thirteenth ordinary session, decided to hold an extraordinary session in order to work out a just and lasting solution to the 'Sahara problem.'

For its part, the heads of states and governments conference held in Khartoum from July 18 to 21, 1978, after 'reaffirming the decision of holding an extraordinary session devoted to the Western Sahara question,' 'decided to set up an ad hoc commission entrusted with examining all the elements of the Western Sahara question...and submit its findings to an extraordinary summit'," further added the sovereign.

"Thus, it is clear and unchallenged that the recommendations of the ad hoc commission can be validly examined, in order to be adopted or rejected, only by an extraordinary summit held for this specific goal and taking place off the ordinary sessions.

This, unfortunately, was not the case, and this is the reason for which we rightfully consider that the recommendations you conveyed to us through His Excellency Cecil Dennis, as well as those adopted during the Monrovia ordinary session, suffer illegality and cannot have for us, as such, a compulsory aspect."

The Moroccan sovereign concluded his message saying "we know your attachment to legality and the care you displayed in order to preserve and strengthen the unity of our continent. We are persuaded that you will take into account our observations and will not, consequently, fail to reconsider the stands held."

CSO: 4420

## SAUDI PAPER REPORTS KING HASSAN'S AT-TA'IF PRESS CONFERENCE

LD131045 Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 10 Feb 80 pp 1, 15 LD

['Ali Khalid al-Ghamidi Report]

[Text] At-Ta'if--Moroccan King Hassan II has lauded the strong fraternal relations between the Saudi Arabian and Moroccan kingdoms. He said that the discussions between the two sides always confirm that no differences in viewpoints exist between them whether in form or in content. His Majesty King Hassan II emphasized that the Jerusalem issue is not only an Arab issue but also an Islamic issue. He announced that the Jerusalem committee will meet on 11 March to discuss this problem.

Speaking at a press conference he held in At-Ta'if yesterday, he said that the Moroccan people will not cede one iota of their right to defend their homeland and complete their unity. He said that Morocco, which has rejected the occupation of Afghanistan, does not accept the creation of another Afghanistan in Morocco's south. His Majesty extolled the Islamabad conference achievements and the rationality and perception it has manifested in relation to the Islamic peoples' solidarity with the Afghan people.

At the press conference, His Majesty dealt with his discussions with His Majesty King Khalid during his visit to the Saudi Arabia Kingdom. He emphasizes the relations of friendship existing between the two countries and peoples. He also stressed the importance of constant consultations between the two monarchs and at various levels to insure the interests of the two countries and peoples, particularly in relation to the question of Afghanistan and other important issues.

At the outset of his press conference, His Majesty praised the strong fraternal relations between the Kingdom and Morocco. We expressed extreme pleasure at having visited the Kingdom and at his presence among brothers. He said that the visit has been an opportunity to express to His Majesty King Khalid, his highness the crown prince and the members of the Saudi government and people the sincere fraternal sentiments of the Moroccan king, government and people. He said that the visit has also been an opportunity for exchanging

views and consultations on matters that concern the two fraternal countries. His Majesty said that discussions between the two sides always confirm that no differences in opinion exist between them, either in form or in content.

Replying to a question about the subjects that were discussed during the talks, the Moroccan King said that the talks centered on two things, first, transactions and dealings between Morocco and Saudi Arabia in accordance with relevant agreements concluded between them, including all spheres of cooperation, and second, the events in the Islamic arena. His Majesty lauded the Islamabad conference achievements in this respect and the rationality and perception it has shown in relation to the Islamic peoples' solidarity with the Afghan people.

Regarding the role played by the Jerusalem committee and His Majesty's view on the plans to Judaize the Holy City, the Moroccan monarch said that he will chair the opening and closing sessions of the committee which will convene on 11 March. His Majesty emphasized that the Jerusalem issue is not only an Arab issue but also an Islamic one. He said that the committee should reflect during its meetings the solidarity the Muslims have manifested in Islamabad.

[LD131047] Speaking about the Western Sahara problem His Majesty King Hassan II said that this problem has become more clear than ever before. He said that just as Morocco is opposed to the occupation of Afghanistan it opposes the idea of another Afghanistan being created in its south.

The Moroccan monarch affirmed that Morocco, which has always carried the banner of Islam and has been a link between Islam and the African peoples, will continue its struggle on the basis of belief in its right to defend its country, to complete its integrity and to preserve the Islamic faith in this part of Africa. He said: If we allow a materialistic, non-Islamic regime to stand as a barrier between us and Senegal, Mali, Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Guinea and many other African states, too, then we would be failing in fulfillment of our duty, which is the historical trust which Muslims of the East have placed in the Muslims of the Maghreb--that is, to preserve Islam and to seek its propagation and expansion.

Replying to a question regarding the possibility of dialog between Morocco and Algeria and the Polisario Front, His Majesty King Hassan II said: Morocco never evaded dialog with Algeria on the grounds that the [Saharan] problem is a Moroccan-Algerian problem. In other words, the dialog one would wish for is a Moroccan-Algerian dialog. As for dialog with another party that is not recognized and has no basis, this is out of the question because Morocco does not talk to or argue with ghosts! It sees no real party with which to conduct a dialog, except Algeria.

Replying to a question regarding the attitude of the African countries that broke off relations with the Israeli enemy in the light of normalization of relations between Egypt and Israel, the Moroccan monarch said, the African stand with the Arabs was prompted by the occupation of Egyptian territory



by the Israeli forces and on the grounds that Egypt is an African state. His Majesty lauded the African countries which adopted this stand on the basis of this principle and out of sympathy [with Egypt].

His Majesty King Hassan II pointed out that international conditions then were different from what they are today in that there was no energy crisis and no craving for the resources of the Arab oil-producing countries. He said that the African countries, generally, are developing countries and rely heavily on Europe and the industrial states to meet their development needs. He said that in the light of this one can understand the extent and magnitude of the sacrifice made by the African countries as they stood firm on this principle and continued their stand of solidarity with the Arab states.

Continuing, His Majesty said that the Arab oil-producing countries did not fully coordinate among themselves with regard to the aid they offer to the African countries and the result was that some of these countries came to believe that the aid is not being given to those who deserved it most. His Majesty said that there should have been coordination among all the Arab oil-producing countries on this subject so that the Arab aid and assistance would have been given correctly and would have produced the desired results.

Speaking about the African situation in the light of the Camp David accords and the normalization [of relations], he said that the Africans have seen Egypt solving its problems with the Israeli enemy and that if Egypt was violating the 1974 Rabat summit resolutions, such violations only concerned the Arab countries. In other words, unlike the Arabs they are not committed to the Rabat resolutions. Nevertheless, many African leaders have shown reservation toward this subject out of the desire to maintain the unity of ranks.

His Majesty said that Israel has two means by which it can make a comeback in Africa. First is through specialized personnel, such as engineers, doctors and professors and, second, through the injection of funds into the African states because Israel is a suitable intermediary for such a channeling of funds. He said that in this field Israel was better coordinated and more effective. He expressed the belief that despite all its attempts, Israel will not be able to divide the African ranks, especially after the Islamabad conference and particularly with regard to the question of Jerusalem. His Majesty referred in this regard to the influence of the large number of Muslims in the African countries in maintaining unity of ranks with the Arab world.

[LD131049] Referring to the Monrovia conference resolution on the Sahara problem, His Majesty King Hassan II said that the inclusion of this problem in the conference agenda was illegal and that the African governments were wrong at that conference. He said that Morocco considers all that was written and said by the committee of wise men is of no concern to him and that he disregards it as if it did not exist.

Speaking about bringing pressure to bear on the United States and the Western world in the interest of the Middle East problem, His Majesty said that the events by themselves will bring such pressure to bear and that after the Islamabad conference the United States and the Western world have realized the importance of the vast Islamic community and its influence in today's world.

Replying to a question regarding the establishment of an Islamic alliance, His Majesty said that military alliance, should it be necessary, should be among equals in terms of power and military strength.

His Majesty expressed the belief that the Soviet Union will go back on what it has done in Afghanistan under the pressure of world opinion and the Islamic countries.

He lauded in this regard the resolution adopted by the Islamabad conference denouncing Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as the occupation, by force, of an unarmed state by an armed state. He expressed regret that some Islamic countries did not attend the conference saying that this was a precedent that should not be allowed to pass without question.

CSO: 4402

## BRIEFS

**ADB LOAN TO MOROCCO**--A loan agreement involving a sum of 2,161 billion CFA francs was signed on Tuesday at the headquarters of the African Development Bank, ADB, in Abidjan between the bank's chairman, Mr Gondwe, and the Moroccan ambassador to the Ivory Coast, Mr Mohamed Taoufiq el Kabbaj. This loan will be used by the Moroccan National Electricity Corporation to finance its network extension project. It is repayable in 15 years time with a 3-year grace period. [Abidjan Information in French (Publication of AGENCE IVOIRIENNE DE PRESSE) 6 Feb 80 p w]

**FRENCH LOAN TO MOROCCO**--Rabat, February 8, MAP--Mr Azzedine Guessous, minister of commerce and industry, signed here Thursday a loan convention of 134 million French francs (about 120 million dirhams) granted by a consortium of French banks. The loan is destined to finance the importing of material and equipment for the sugar cane factory and refinery of the Gharb. The sugar cane factory and refinery of the Gharb, which is the eleventh unit built since 1963, will bring up the national production potential to 42,000 tons of sugar. It will be followed by the launching during this year of new factories for treating sugar-beet and sugar cane [Text] [LD090316 Rabat MAP in English 1200 GMT 8 Feb 80 LD]

CSO: 4420

## SYRIA

### DAMASCUS REPORTS ON BA'TH PARTY, PPS TALKS

JN292046 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1915 GMT 29 Jan 80 JN

[Text] A second round of talks was held in Damascus this evening between a delegation of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party under Comrade 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, assistant secretary general, and a delegation of the Moroccan Party of Progress and Socialism under Comrade 'Ali Yata, secretary general of the party.

During the meeting, the two sides signed an agreement for joint cooperation between the two parties for the coming 2 years. They also held friendly talks and further stressed the two parties' interest in bolstering and further developing the fraternal relations between them. They stressed that the signing of the joint cooperation agreement would form a major pillar in this regard.

The two sides also noted that this agreement would serve our Arab nation's struggle against the imperialist-Zionist aggression--against all imperialist-Zionist plots and against As-Sadat's treason as well.

Comrade Yata expressed his party's great admiration of the important role played by Syria in defense of the Arab right and the Arab cause, particularly the Palestine question. He reconfirmed that the party of progress and socialism in Morocco supports Syria's efforts and sound policy, under the leadership of Comrade Hafiz al-Asad, Arab Socialist Ba'th Party secretary general and president of the Syrian Arab Republic.

CSO: 4402



## AHMED BEN SALAH INTERVIEWED BY PIERRE 'AQL

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 21-27 Jan 80 pp 16-20

[Interview with Ahmed Ben Salah, leader of the People's Unity Movement and former Tunisian minister, by Pierre 'Aql: "If Only Bourguiba Were Fair To Himself"; date and place not given]

[Text] In the course of a 2-hour interview Ahmed Ben Salah was never so agitated as when I asked him about his personal relationship with Habib Bourguiba. His answer was filled with genuine love for the past and for the "man we looked upon as an idol." But then his tone changed and his voice became filled with bitterness and pain. These feelings were apparent in his eyes and in the lines of his face as he talked about the change which came over Bourguiba, about the way Bourguiba turned against Ben Salah and threw him in prison, and about "broken friendships." As I listened, I felt that this love-hate relationship was too deep to be a mere political relationship in the view of Ben Salah who belonged to "the generation which was devoted to Bourguiba" and had at one time been nominated to be his successor.

But apart from the personal relationship, the opposition represented by Ben Salah and the People's Unity Movement (MUP) poses an important problem for the Tunisian regime. Any regime, whatever its beginning, will at some point lapse into a phase of decline, crises and repression if it isolates itself, and allows its privileges to become the monopoly of a tiny minority whose ranks can only be penetrated from the outside with difficulty. Will the regime yet be able to mend the break with an opposition whose roots go back to the labor movement and the ruling party itself. This would possibly lend it a popular momentum and dimension as well as safety valves which it presently lacks. Or will it continue with its "unnecessary" repression until it undergoes change from the outside by means which have heretofore been unknown in Tunisia?

[Question] Ten years have now passed since you exited from power. Would you give us your assessment of these 10 years: How have they affected you, and how do you view them from a personal standpoint?

[Answer] The first thing I note is that one cannot find a logical and reasonable justification based on something valid for everything that occurred after the 1960's. This means that I really have never felt any sort of regret for what I did either inside or outside the government. The matter as I see it is all bound together. I never feel bitterness or regret at all. I believe that I did what I had to do.

However, prison in particular, and life in exile in general, involve a certain amount of vagrancy in a way. Not vagrancy in the degrading sense, because I had friends, and I had the opportunity to work at times. In any case, vagrancy for a man who has spent the major part of his youth and his life in responsibility and activism can be very beneficial. Many concepts became clear, and perhaps a profound trace of understanding emerged with regard to this whole period.

However, this understanding does not at all negate the electrifying energy and the deep commitment to the goals toward which I have worked. There is also a certain amount of healthy doubt that makes a man revive and try to be more and more in harmony with the goals for which he is working and with present reality at the same time.

#### The New Class

[Question] It is said that you were a difficult and stern man when you were in power.

[Answer] That's true, and I still am when it comes to defending certain values. This is because following our country's independence we were trying not to slip into the vices that various other newly independent countries slipped into. For after centuries of thirst and centuries of hardships, they succumb to the comforts of good living and of exploitation of men and power. I really believed very strongly that the problem was grave, and that if the country slipped at the dawn of independence it would be very difficult to put matters in order afterwards. This would have not only moral but political consequences as well, because new choices would arise and a new class would be formed. The new class would make choices that differ from the popular choices which were the basis of the national movement. This is actually what happened in the new Tunisia, the Tunisia of the 1970's. This is what we were trying to stop in order to prevent the growth of contempt for the collective interests for the sake of quenching old, inherited passions and fighting for power as a basis of accumulating wealth and engaging in exploitation.

The result was that a new class was formed, as many people before us had allowed to happen. This new class chose the very economic, social, cultural system which enables it to pursue exploitation with a sense of security. And if security breaks down, the new class resorts to repression, prisons, banishment and the humiliation of activists, until they no longer pose a threat to its new gains which are more likely to be illegitimate than legitimate. When a new class is formed, choices change and bonds are broken.

[Question] Are you talking now about the ruling class?

[Answer] Of course, the ruling class. It is this class which was behind the shift made in 1969 away from the policy that was in effect by everyone's agreement. It is this class which set up the more than 100 political courts since the beginning of the 1970's, tortured many brothers of all orientations, and eliminated many activists of the national movement who had past, present and future roles in the political life of Tunisia. Although I did not agree with these activists about many things, they were fighters to say the least. This continued until we reached the peak of repression on 26 January 1978. This is the same class which is privileged through its proximity to those who are in power in Tunisia. It knows how to get along with them and how to be profuse in phony flattery.

My sternness was based on the desire to protect and steer the country from the first moment of independence onto a course of action and modern, precise organization. Thus, it would not slip into pitfalls of folly and contempt for man, and into a situation where the elite is held to be supreme and a minority is given credit for making everything run.

[Question] Does your lack of regret also apply to the experiment you were conducting up until 1969? How do you evaluate this experiment now?

[Answer] It is no longer in order for us to talk about the 1960's because they have become a part of history. However, there are two ways to look at and analyze economic and social conditions today. The first is to recognize the positive material gains, a large part of which is a direct outgrowth of the projects accomplished in the 1960's. The second involves analysis of the economic and social situation in our country during the two eras [preceding and following independence]. Our analysis is not essentially different from what it was when our country became independent: imbalance among the governorates, imbalance among the generations and imbalance in the economic sectors. In other words, a snubbing of a majority of the governorates which are remote from the authorities. The governorates that were forgotten and despised during the days of colonialism are in the same position today.

#### The Regional Problem

[Question] There is a concentration of power in one part of the country?

[Answer] There is a concentration of wealth in certain cities, and among certain minorities within these cities. This applies, for example, to education which was the most important thing to emerge in Tunisia in the 1960's. There was a great effort to achieve correlation among all regions in the Republic of Tunisia. But now, while the percentage [of student enrollment] might be 70 to 90 percent in some years in Nabeul, Monastir or Tunis, it is sometimes 40 to 45 percent in the other governorates. Even more unfortunate is the fact that the percentage of students graduating from the primary to the secondary level has fallen below 25 percent after having reached over 40 percent in 1969. It is stipulated in the plan that we must get rid of 100,000 youths each year. This is a total count. If you were to divide it among the governorates you would find an imbalance among them that has become more extreme.

With regard to current funding to create opportunity for employment, the lion's share of 30 to 35 percent goes to the governorate of Tunis. The share of the coastal governorates, including Tunis, is 80 to 85 percent. The poor inland governorates, on the other hand, receive only 8 to 10 percent as opposed to the 22 percent they received in the 1960's. In the 1960's, the goal was universal development. The view was that growth does not call only for growth in figures and in gross income, but also for a basic distribution at the time development occurs, not afterwards. Distribution after development leads to the formation of that class.

I will give you another example: In the 1960's, the share of the GNP which went to workers' wages was over 50 percent. It has now gone down to 40 percent. Since higher qualifications now call for higher wages, the 40 percent is in reality not quite 40 percent. The percentage does not convey the sense of the decline in workers' wages as a percentage of the total GNP.

These are some examples which cause us to believe that the disparity has deepened since 1969.

#### Political Opposition Only

[Question] Let us move on from this point. As an opposition movement, what is your conception of the current Tunisian political situation?

[Answer] We are oppositionists because Tunisia, under the guise of real-politik, has been brought back to imbalance among the governorates and the generations. As to enrichment, the kind of life led by officials and those who surround them is not contemplated even by bankers in England. The case is that Tunisia is a poor country. Our opposition is based on the fact that there has been an extremely profound departure from the policy aimed at giving independence a universal meaning for all the masses. Independence is not the seizing of power or the replacement of foreign colonialism with a national colonialism.

Moreover, besides the borrowing which we do not condemn because it is necessary at this time, there are being built foreign financial bases from which it will be difficult to free ourselves later. These bases are more unfortunate than military bases.

[Question] Fine. There is a political crisis which is acknowledged by nearly everyone. What is your program to get out of this crisis?

[Answer] Of course, there is a crisis. The present regime has become an expert at creating crises. There has to be a purpose behind this. Perhaps the purpose is the emptying or draining or destruction of Tunisia following the death of the present officials. After them perhaps there will be non-existence. Of course this is crazy, but we have put forward reasonable proposals in which there is not a hint of extremism.

[Question] What are these proposals?



[Answer] We have proposed five points to initiate a democratic course of action to change the regime bit by bit. The first point is elimination of the conditions of repression, torture, banishments and prisons by enacting a law to protect all the people, and declaration of a general amnesty. Next, all forces should be allowed to take part in a reexamination of the economic, social, constitutional and foreign policies on the basis of true consultation. All of this is without violence, revolution or anything of the sort; in other words, without any forms of opposition alien to the nature of Tunisia. We are all responsible, and the country does not belong to any one individual. Officially, we have not yet returned to the era of the Bey, who was said to be the "master of the Tunisian Kingdom." But does Tunisia now have such a master?

[Question] Do you propose an opening up of the political arena by the regime?

[Answer] Not a political opening up. We have had a bitter experience with opening up the political arena. We demand respect for the constitution of the country, in spite of the fact that it has been changed in a strange manner to facilitate the election of a president for life. We demand that all Tunisian citizens of all orientations participate in building the country and rectifying what has gone bad in the course of 10 years, which includes many things. If things continue on their present course, there is not the least doubt that the regime will be overthrown by violence. Take this religious movement, for example. We were there in the 1960's, and the people were as religious as they are now, neither more nor less. Why have not these movements emerged before now? The regime itself was encouraging them when they first began to emerge in order to [submerge] the other oppositions, and all of a sudden they have become strong. Why? Because when the avenues of change are cut off, the people turn to religion. Even the members of the present regime turned to religion. Their speeches were filled with Koranic verses when we were fighting colonialism. This is because the avenues of hope that relations could be changed amicably with colonialism were cut off. It appears that we have now arrived at the same point. Nothing like what happened on 26 January [1978] ever occurred during the time of colonialism. For this reason, we are in opposition, although opposition is not our profession.

[Question] What was the authorities' response to your proposals?

[Answer] The proposals had an impact on Tunisian public opinion, but [official reaction] was the opposite and some 130 MUP activists were arrested. The arrests were then halted, because it became clear to the people that the MUP is not a movement made up of exiled followers of Ahmed Ben Salah but a movement that has roots, since the arrest operations occurred in many parts of the republic.

[Question] What can you do now after this rejection by the authorities?

[Answer] As far as we are concerned, we will continue. We have never acted disloyally, nor have we ever considered using the methods of so-called revolutionary violence or the kind of revolutionary violence which is a

response to reactionary violence. We do not acknowledge any of this. We feel that it is better for Tunisia to suffer years of repression than to undergo the initiation of phases of violence. If violence does occur, it will not be because of us or of other present opposition movements, but because of the state of anxiety that the regime has reached. Violence is a danger because it could become a habit, and because a decline in social values takes place.

[Question] Are you, therefore, a legal opposition?

[Answer] No, not legal. We are not recognized. But we are a political opposition. We want this opposition to have a considerable degree of real quality with respect to future goals, political education for us and the people who support us, as well as self-control, good organization and a psychological and political orientation which will help to bring about change.

#### The Regime and the Opposition Forces

[Question] I want to ask you about the degree of unity within the MUP. You have diversity and conflicting viewpoints, proponents of violence and proponents of political action.

[Answer] Of course, but we hold a national conference every year in one country or another. When we meet, some of the brothers feel that it is violence which brings the people together and strengthens their resolve, but the overwhelmingly majority say: No. Our action must be organizational and structural. It must mean political awakening, political opposition and preparation for an alternative in all fields. The situation has reached the point where the alternative must be comprehensive for all sectors. We have never denied the existence of different currents within the MUP. It is a movement, not a party.

[Question] What about your relations with the other opposition forces?

[Answer] I did not have any connections when I was in the government. I knew some leftist brothers among the so-called extremists. But at the time there was not a large number of opposition movements. Now its amazing! There are 16 movements, including some which are encouraged by the government. There are persons in one of the movements who were summoned by an official in the [government] party who assisted them with money and told them: "We only ask one thing from you. Say what you want, but announce constantly that Ahmed Ben Salah is not a leftist." I have proof of that.

There are many opposition movements. We have tried to form a front, but that has appeared to be difficult for various reasons. Some people want to drive us to take a position on the Chinese regime. Others want to make us take a position on the Soviet regime.

[Question] You are talking about the leftist opposition?

[Answer] Oppositions. I do not know if there are leftist or rightist. These oppositions exist. And there are some who do not consider us

oppositionists, on the grounds that we belonged at one time to the regime and that we took part in some of the regime's misdeeds. They say, for example, that Ahmed Ben Salah was there in 1968 when the trial of the students took place. My reply is that at the time the trial of the students was taking place, there was an attempt to assassinate me by members of the regime. Let them say what they want. We do not have to try to look like we are crying for help. If there are brothers who want to maintain their identity without merging with us into a common front, we are ready to cooperate.

[Question] And Mestiri's movement?

[Answer] Mestiri considers himself a socialist and a democrat. There are many matters which bring us together, at the very least the issue of freedoms. We do not have special conditions, but we feel that the proper circumstances for action to achieve change must exist. Such circumstances definitely do not exist at this time. We have links with everyone: with the communists, with the brothers in the movement of the Social Democrats, and with some groups which have broken off from the Communist Party.

[Question] Does the opposition experience prompt you to reconsider the question of a single party and call for a multiparty system?

[Answer] I personally do not have the competence to decide on this matter. All I can say is that the important thing is for us to work together to find the answer to the best way to direct life in Tunisian society. How should this direction be provided? It is clear that direction as practiced by a single party--not necessarily the same as the direction feasible under a one-party system--has not been fruitful over a period of time. The party which was in effect a popular and mass party because of its combative strength against colonialism has been transformed. It is no longer the party of national unity, but has become the party of the unity of the machinery of repression. There is a need to reorganize political life in Tunisia. But it is impossible for me to express an opinion prematurely because of the ambiguous concepts that surround the term "multiparty system."

[Question] There are opposition forces of another kind in Tunisia today, represented by the Moslem Brothers. This is connected with the more general phenomenon in the Arab and Islamic world. What is your assessment of this matter?

[Answer] It is difficult for one to go into this matter in depth because conditions differ in many of the countries. However, with respect to Tunisia, I believe that the religious movement is a refuge because the avenues of action in the domain of culture have been cut off. The avenues for the preservation and development of cultural, social and lineal purity were cut off and people turned to religion, because religion in former colonies was a refugee to stay alive from the standpoints of identity and culture. However, religion can be organized into a movement, and can be exploited for other purposes.

With regard to what has happened in Tunisia recently, my information is very limited, and the information about the arrests is conflicting. Perhaps the

regime wanted to begin a new period of repression against a new group. But if this is a declaration from Tunisia of its solidarity with those in the West who oppose the Islamic movements; in other words, if it is a declaration of dependence on and solidarity with the United States and other countries with respect to their position on Iran (it is reported that the repression of the Moslem Brothers began after meetings between the ambassador of a Big Power and the Tunisian President); it means perhaps that the authorities in Tunisia anticipate that a death blow will be dealt to the Islamic revolution, and that they will be able to annihilate the Moslem Brothers in Tunisia without any worry over reaction abroad.

#### Regime Has Changed, Not People's Islam

[Question] Another question concerning the Moslem Brothers. From what we have heard of their views, some of them deal with what Tunisians have long considered to be progressive from the social and civil standpoint: the conditions of women, polygamy, etc. Do you have a position on these issues?

[Answer] I personally can never be opposed to any progress in the social field with regard to women or youth. I believe that progress in this direction is one of the achievements of Tunisian independence. However, I do not believe that it is the laws which have brought about the opposition of the Moslem Brothers at all. Because the laws have existed since the dawn of independence, and their liberalization was overseen by leading members of the clergy very much respected for their nationalism, erudition and religion. What has happened, however, is that the practical experience of putting the laws into application has caused the people to feel that their previous situation was better. In fact, we do not see what has taken place in Tunisia to indicate that women have been liberated. The regime looks on the matter from one standpoint. Thus, the meaning of women's lib is not that the woman can work in harmony in society, but that she gains the upper-hand over the man in married life. It means that if her husband divorces her, she can go and complain to the president's special secretary, and the right is on her side 100 percent. If the magistrate says otherwise, the president summons the magistrate and rules in favor of the woman. These practices have infuriated the people, because they are inconsistent with law, reason and right. The practices have turned the women's organizations into organizations for the purpose of spying on Tunisian families!

The law for the emancipation of women was one of the most beautiful things imaginable. It was just, and it did away with unfair divorce, wife-beating and many other ills. But I must now ask: what evil drove you, oh authorities, to upset the applecart? It is the method of implementation which has created such an opposite reaction that we have now begun to see women in Tunisia who are like nuns or the veiled women of al-Azhar. These are extreme reactions against extreme practices.

Of course, I am not such a hypocrite as to figure that because I am in the opposition I should support those who want to retreat. We feel that the laws which were issued in 1956 are in harmony with and derived from the



religious teachings because they are based on justice among the people-- justice between man and woman. We have never found a Koranic verse opposed to justice between man and woman.

[Question] Habib Achour has been reelected vice president of the Free Federation of Unions. At the same time, there are rumors about the possibility that the relationship between the union movement and the state will be patched up. What is your impression?

[Answer] Habib Achour was reelected as an expression of this international organization's confidence in him while he is being subjected to repression. What concerns us with respect to Habib Achour, despite the conflicts of the past, is that he is a victim of repression. We are united in solidarity with every man who is a victim of repression. Even the official who was imposed in his place in the [Tunisian] union leadership said without hesitation: "Our first task will be the release of the brothers and the restoration of their freedoms." We are in solidarity with Habib.

There is said to be a move aimed at a reorganization of the labor union movement, based on a mixture of elements of the old and elements of the new leaderships, to make it look like a compromise solution has been achieved. This is possible. The move comes amid pressure from the American unions and the international unions, as well as the pressures of reality in Tunisia, because the labor movement does not recognize the newly imposed leadership.

#### The Army: A Sign of Failure

[Question] What is your view on the phenomenon of the prominence of the army in Tunisian political life?

[Answer] Ask the regime which used the army, and then removed the man it had charged with using it. The regime is at loss as to what to do. It must be, because it is not one of Tunisia's traditions to use the army. I believe that the presence of the army on the street, at the party congress and at the al-Hilal Palace incident, is an indication of the absence of any other possible course of action and of a final break with the people. Government business is now conducted through the army, militia or security forces.

[Question] Do you believe that the reports concerning the readiness of some military men to seize power are accurate?

[Answer] I do not know. I do not know the army sector, and I have never had any connection with it. What we have seen, however, is that the army was used for repression and for political purposes. It was no secret that the army was used in organizing the ruling party congress. The press conferences held before the congress met were filled with officers. Nevertheless, when the head of the party was through with the operation, he eliminated the man he had charged with using the army. Al-Sayrah has now been charged with suppressing the Moslem Brothers, but his turn will come whether things go well or not. As for us, in the 1960's the army was given projects to carry out in order to forget that it was something apart and outside the main body of society. We say that the army is even entitled to pursue political activities with others, but not as an independent entity.

[Question] There are many reports going around in Tunisia about the new government of Hedi Nouira. Some consider it to have strengthened his position, and there are others who say that it is a prelude to holding him responsible for mistakes.

[Answer] These speculations depend on the intentions of those in power. We do not believe that power is in the hands of Hedi Nouira.

[Question] In whose hands is it?

[Answer] The power is in the hands of the presidential palace, or perhaps it is correct to say the "royal palace." Hedi Nouira has never held power. He has merely been responsible for devising administrative and economic action that make it easy for those who hold the power to feel secure. And as for mistakes, I do not say Hedi Nouira makes mistakes. I say the regime makes mistakes, because the same thing that has happened to others may happen to Hedi Nouira. The mistakes will be charged to him, either because of this government or in spite of it. The mission of the man who controls Hedi Nouira is to make people commit mistakes. He orders them to commit mistakes under the pretense of profound presidential insight, as he did to me. He said: "Agricultural reform must be introduced on a general scale this year." This was in spite of my reservations. But when the operation began, followed by confusion created by the palace itself, he said: "I was not aware of what was going on."

#### Downfall of the Idol

[Question] We have touched on the subject of "power" or "the regime" or the "republican palace." Therefore, I will ask you to evaluate Habib Bourguiba directly. You knew him both in power and out of power?

[Answer] I knew Bourguiba when I was a very young man. I knew him as a leader, and belonged to the generation that was devoted to him. I opened my eyes on the world only to see my father, my paternal uncle and my maternal uncle in prison. When I asked why, the answer was: "Because they belong to Bourguiba's group!" Thus, from the age of 7 or 8 we recognized Bourguiba as the leader of the homeland, the leader of the nation, a freedom fighter, and so on. We loved him and admired him, and we were honored to be close to him and work with him. We worked with him devotedly without the slightest ambition for power or position. Fabrications to the contrary are wrong.

As of 1967, Bourguiba discovered two stratagems to stay in power: the stratagem of pretending to be ill and the device of successively attributing to other people an illness which is his own. He used ill health in order to hide and evade responsibilities many times. He would also level accusations against others, saying: "All of these people are greedy for power." He should be the last person to accuse people of greed for power. In a speech he made while I was in prison, he shook as he charged that I coveted power and so forth. The people saw him act like that on television. It was strange, because it was inconceivable that anyone could come along and give Bourguiba cause for such concern. Perhaps there was competition among activists and officials of the regime. But is it an illness to compete for service?

As an activist, I had private conversations with him in his office about the goals we were pursuing, the noble character of those goals, and the beautiful determination to restructure Tunisian society. These were things which fulfilled his youthful dreams of the concept of national unity and the concept of society, and of which he was proud. But subsequently I overheard him with my own ears make false accusations about me. I saw the extent to which he had sunk from a position of leadership linked to the flesh and blood of the masses. This is because he did not in fact insult me, but insulted himself. This is a sad thing even for Tunisia. In the final analysis, when matters reach such a point, they perhaps signal the beginning of freedom.

[Question] But how do you explain President Bourguiba's sudden change toward you?

[Answer] It was not sudden. Nietzsche said: "We become what we are." Perhaps we were mistaken, or perhaps we were seeing him as an idol. We were responsible. I will even admit that it may have been right for me to be prosecuted, because I took part in making the regime reach this point and making Bourguiba an oracle in the country. It is true that I took part in this. But my past and my roots in the movement made me enthusiastic about it, because I believed that this man ought to be looked at as an idol.

[Question] Is he a fallen idol for good as far as you are concerned?

[Answer] Yes, for good. It was like the end of a long sleep. There is no doubt about that. Many of my friends will be sad to read these words if they are published, as will many associates who feel that it is better for one to be flexible in speech and in politics, and that Bourguiba may change his opinion one day.

If Bourguiba were to change his opinion one day and remove the injustice he committed against me and many others besides me, he would not be treating us fairly, he would be treating himself fairly. If he were to change, we would encourage him to be fair to himself. We would not be so rigid [as to ignore such a move]. We wish he would be fair to himself and to history, because his history has been marred for good. We say this in spite of the fact that we suffered on account of his actions, while his men enjoyed the good life.

[Question] It is said that there were French interventions which contributed to the coup against you. And there is someone who called you the "minister with all the portfolios."

[Answer] This was Edgar Faure. He came, I believe, on the birthday of the Tunisian president and greeted everyone. When he reached me, I said, "Welcome, Mr Prime Minister," because he was a former premier. He replied to me, "Bonjour, Monsieur Ben Salah" (that is, minister of all affairs) [sic]. He said this with a certain amount of malice, because there were cases of intervention in customs affairs which I always pretended not to be aware of. But his action at the time was a personal one, because he was not a member of the government.

## France Swept Me Away

[Question] Again with regard to French relations : when the use of the army was reconsidered recently, there were some who said that this move had been discussed with the French. Do you believe the French authorities have a direct influence on the situation in Tunisia?

[Answer] I believe that the Tunisian regime has strong feelings of dependence and need for protection. It has strong ties with the French Government and strong ties with the American administration. We would not consider this a source of embarrassment if the ties were just normal ties. However, what is completely unacceptable is that the chief of staff of the French Army visited Tunisia shortly before the events of January 1978, and announced with satisfaction before his departure that he had held discussions with Tunisian officials and that there was complete agreement in points of view between Tunisian officials and himself, as the French Army's chief of staff, on matters relating to the future of the area. In other words, Tunisia had become part of French Army strategy.

One of the reasons for the crisis of 1969 was a report of the French ambassador to his government in which he vilified Tunisian economic policy. The report was leaked to the president. It was a 60-page document which I saw myself. The report was full of vituperation, because in his 8 years in Tunisia, the ambassador had witnessed all sorts of [unfavorable] developments, particularly the decline of trade between Tunisia and France, because I had worked to diversify the economic, trade and cultural relations of an independent Tunisia. He was angry and considered me personally responsible, even though this was the policy of the state as a whole. The Tunisian president was not embarrassed in November 1969, while making plans to visit Paris, to cite the French ambassador's report, which said that the country was heading for disaster. The ambassador was Sauvagnargues, who later became French foreign minister.

[Question] Do you now have links with the government, or any of its agencies?

[Answer] There are links with some individuals, and of course they are indirect links. There are some friendly ties. There are some people who ask about me, and some who send me greetings, secretly or openly. There are some who were eliminated because they were my friends, while others were promoted!

[Question] From 1969 until the present, or from the time of your release from prison, have you not had contacts with Bourguiba personally in one form or another?

[Answer] No, absolutely not.



## The Socialist International: Friendship and Politics

[Question] I would like to ask you about the Socialist International and your connection with it?

[Answer] They have been my friends for a long time. I have known some of them since 1953. I met some of them in the labor movement, including Erlander, who was prime minister of Sweden, and then Olaf Palme, Willy Brandt and Kreisky. I also met the trade unionists close to the Socialist International, such as Walter Reuther and his brother Victor Reuther, all of whom were from the progressive wing. When I got out of prison and Willy Brandt became head of the International, he even invited me to attend the meetings of the Executive Office, even though they were restricted to members only.

We worked with them on our problem so they would understand matters and take a just position. They actually did take positions, and they wrote to Bourguiba and protested. Kreisky did not send a delegation to the recent congress of the PSD. Philip Gonzales, head of the Spanish Socialist Party, invited us but did not invite the PSD. The same is true of the British Labor Party and the Portuguese party. The socialist parties have now taken a stand against the PSD's request to join the Socialist International, and this request has been rejected.

[Question] Is there ideological kinship between you and them?

[Answer] Not on all the viewpoints of the International by any means. Their viewpoints spring from certain economic and social conditions, and from advancement. Our conditions and our ideas spring from a time far removed from their time. It is not possible for there to be identity. However, we are in a state of repression and we accept anyone who can help us. The Socialist International can evolve, because there are young people who want to steer it away from its official and sometimes reactionary positions.

[Question] Do you have any comments about the Arab role of Kreisky?

[Answer] Kreisky is an understanding person, and his view has a big effect on the Socialist International. I say this although I should not praise him because he is my friend. He understands the Palestinian problem especially. I know what their views were like prior to 1973. They did not even like to hear about things like the Palestinians and the Palestinian problem. Then things evolved. There were activists, including myself—and I say this without false modesty—who had a hand in awakening these people. Personal conversation with Palme, Brandt and Kreisky was advantageous to such an extent that they gave Yasir 'Arafat an almost presidential reception, even though this caused problems for them. For example, Kreisky was referred to as an agent of the Americans. I was talking with him 2 days ago, and he told me painfully: "I voted against the United States and with Cuba in the recent crisis, and they say that I am an agent of the Americans."

[Question] Is there something you would like to say about Tunisia's future?

[Answer] I will say that there are generations which grew up after independence, and they are not shackled as we were with the history of the struggle against colonialism. It is certain that, whether they follow our leadership or oppose us, they will be forces for the liberation of Tunisia-- a liberation whose goal is participation in the Arab struggle, the struggle of Arab Maghrib, and the overall struggle of the new nations. This will occur irrespective of any type of repression and irrespective of any outside protection. There will be some sort of explosion, peaceful or violent, that will change the situation in Tunisia. This is certain.

8591

CSO: 4402

## TUNISIANS UNITED IN CONDEMNING QAFSAH ATTACK

LD071536 Tunis TAP in English 1418 GMT 7 Feb 80 LD

["Pool" Item]

[Text] Tunis, Feb 7 (TAP)—Shortly after the notice of the aggression perpetrated against Qafsah by a handful of mercenaries in the pay of "Tripoli's Fanatic," the Tunisian people expressed in a burst of exemplary solidarity, their condemnation of this cowardly crime. But in view of the serious objectives of this aggression, the reaction became more violent. Indignation gave way to anger against the instigators of the attack. Affected in its dignity of independent and Pacific nation and in its convictions as regards relations among states, Tunisia rose up as one man to thrash the behaviour of international terrorism instigators. The population got mobilized to put a check on saboteurs and to frustrate this aggression aimed at destabilizing a regime which, with its successes at home and its reputation abroad, troubles. [as received]

This Tunisian people's stand is not in the least surprising.

Tunisians have always closed ranks and supported one another to face enemies. They were not satisfied with denouncing the aggression and condemning those who organized it, considering themselves keepers of the nation's integrity and sovereignty they said they were ready to make any sacrifice required by the situation. Suiting the action to the word, they brought spontaneously various and generous contributions to assist the victims' families and strengthen efforts of national defense, thus a concrete and exemplary expression of national solidarity comes to add to the sacrifice of the martyrs of the ignoble aggression against Qafsah.

All the Tunisian political trends were unanimous in condemning the aggression. They are all convinced that for the present we must get together round President Bourguiba and the republican regime. Even those who claim to be "communists" did not remain in arrears. In a statement published by L'HUMANITE, a not-very-in-sympathy-with-Tunisia newspaper, they condemn "Libya's interference and claim to impose its will" as well as "the crazy armed venture of

a group of Tunisians arising from over-simple and false plans without any bearing on the country's reality" al-Qadhdhafi tried to persuade that it was a popular revolt.

He is not wrong beyond measure since the Tunisian people fairly rose to denounce the crime, condemn the aggression and its instigators and volunteer to defend the country.

CSO: 4420



**CONSUMER PRICE RISES WITHIN 'BEARABLE LIMITS'**

LD051623 Tunis L'ACTION in French 25 Jan 80 p 1 LD

[Editorial by B. Bouhlel: "Necessary Measures"]

[Text] It is never willingly that a government decides to increase prices, especially when increases affect staple commodities.

It agrees to do this only because it has no other choice except opting for a line of least resistance and demagoguery by deciding to increase wages while leaving the field free for inflation, which would render such measures as illusory as ineffective. And which, furthermore, would discourage any national effort in the investment sphere, increase social inequalities and make the greatest uncertainty prevail with respect to employment.

The recent readjustments in the prices of certain daily consumer goods have been a result of both a considerable increase in these prices on the international market--a 100 percent increase in the price of sugar and a 50 percent increase in the prices of grain and coffee in 1 year--and a desire to reduce the accrued deficit shown by the general compensation fund, which amounted to 148 million dinars at the end of the current year, in order to divert a maximum of resources toward employment-creating investments. For instance, an amount equal to the deficit shown by the general compensation fund would enable us to create nearly 25,000 jobs.

And even though today everybody agrees that no economy, even if planned and controlled, can be safe from inflation, which is undermining the world economy and seems likely to last a long time, the effects of this inflation must not combine with an unchecked increase in consumption. In Tunisia, inflation has been kept within very reasonable limits. However, there is a great risk that these limits could be exceeded as a result of a consumption which borders on squandering. Sugar consumption increased 20 percent--we import 90 percent of our requirements in this sphere--while coffee consumption has increased 30 percent. This was obviously bound to cause concern since, as we know, in developed countries a transfer of consumption takes place whenever the world prices of a given product reach levels which cannot be easily tolerated.

But be that as it may, even though dictated by both internal and external restraints, the effort which the Tunisian people have been asked to make has been kept within bearable limits, especially since these price readjustments have been accompanied by a 3 percent increase in lower wages. This latter measure, coupled with measures announced in the 1980 finance bill and taking into account its impact on the CPE [expansion unknown], has made it possible to at least preserve the purchasing power of the poorer strata if not to improve their economic situation.

Nor should it be forgotten that the social partners have agreed to meet in 6 months to reassess the country's economic and social position and review the question of wages depending on the circumstances.

But the fact remains that a continuous and sustained effort to increase production and improve productivity and a freely made effort to discipline our consumption are the main preconditions for any improvement in our economy, on which any rise in our living standard depends.

It is a question of will.

CSO: 4400

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